

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 172941

PASS TO ASSISTANT SECRETARY MAYNES

FOL REPEAT USUN 2330 ACTION SECSTATE INFO BONN DAR ES SALAAM  
GABORONE LAGOS LONDON LUSAKA MAPUTO OTTAWA PARIS PRETORIA  
GENEVA DTD 21 JUL.

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 2330

QUOTE

HENEVA FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV, WA

SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: GROUP OF FIVE REPRESENTATIVES MEET WITH  
SYG WALDHEIM

REF: USUN 2314

SUMMARY: MEETING WITH GROUP OF FIVE REPRESENTATIVES  
JULY 21 TO GIVE HIS IMPRESSIONS OF OIBREVILLE OAU  
SUMMIT AS IT AFFECTED NAMIBIA, SYG WALDHEIM REITERED  
VIEW (REFTEL) THAT HE COULD TAKE NO RESPONSIBILITY FOR  
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FIVE EFFORTS FIND SOLUTION TO NAMIBIAN PROBLEM UNTIL  
SWAPO AND AFRICAN STATES HAD FORMALLY APPROVED THEM,  
AND SAID BURDEN OF OBTAINING APPROVAL AND OF DESIGNING  
UN ROLE IN TRANSITIONAL PERIOD BEFORE NAMIBIA'S  
INDEPENDENCE RESTED ENTIRELY WITH FIVE. HE WOULD  
ONLY CONCEDE RIGHT OF VIE TO USE UN'S INFORMATIONAL  
FACILITIES IN DESIGNING UN ROLE. USEFULLY, HE SAID

HE WOULD INSTRUCT COMMISSIONER FOR NAMIBIA  
MARTTI AHTISAARI TO COOPERATE WITH FIVE. END SUMMARY.

1. WALDHEIM SAID HIS BASIC "IMPRESSION" OF LIBREVILLE  
WAS THAT AFRICAN LEADERS DID NOT "REJECT" INITIATIVE  
OF FIVE BUT WOULD INSIST THAT IMPORTANT CONDITIONS BE  
MET BEFORE THEY APPROVED IT. NIGERIA'S OBASANJO,  
ZAMBIA'S KAUNDA AND SWAPO PRESIDENT SAM NUJOMA HAD TAKEN  
THIS "TOUGH" BUT NOT NECESSARILY IRRECONCILABLE LINE  
HE SAID.

2. CONDITIONS WERE WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN  
ARMED FORCES, ESTABLISHMENT CLEAR SUPREMACY OF SECRETARY  
GENERAL'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OVER RESIDUAL SOUTH  
AFRICAN ADMINISTRATIVE PERSONNEL DURING TRANSITIONAL  
PERIOD AND, GENERALLY, TO KEEP WITHIN FRAMEWORK UN  
RESOLUTIONS, ESPECIALLY SC RES 385, 1976. WALDHEIM QUOTED  
NUJOMA AS SAYING WITHDRAWAL WAS "SINE QUO NON" OF SWAPO  
APPROVAL. WHEN WALDHEIM SUGGESTED THAT SAG MIGHT BE  
WILLING PULL BACK TO BORDER AREAS BUT NOT TO WITHDRAW  
ALTOGETHER AND THAT UN TROOPS BE BROUGHT IN TO HELP  
KEEP ORDER IN CITIES, NUJOMA REPORTEDLY COUNTERED  
WITH DEMAND THAT SWAPO BE INCLUDED IN ANY MIXED PEACEKEEPING  
FORCE, I.E., THREE-MEN-IN-THE-JEEP. RE UN ROLE, WALDHEIM  
SAID AFRICANS HAD BEEN "MORE OR LESS UNANIMOUS"  
THAT UN MUST HAVE EXTENSIVE ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS  
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IN TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. SECRETARY GENERAL'S SPECIAL  
REPRESENTATIVE MUST ENJOY "DE FACTO VETO POWER" OVER  
SOUTH AFRICANS AND HIS MANDATE MUST CLEARLY SPELL  
THIS OUT. WHEN WLAHEIM SUGGESTED THAT ALL-OR-NOTHING  
JURIDICAL APPROACH OF PAST HAD FAILED BRING SOLUTION  
TO NAMIBIAN PROBLEM, AFRICANS REPORTEDLY SAID THEY  
WOULD INSIST ON EXTENSIVE ROLE FOR UN, INCLUDING COUNCIL  
FOR NAMIBIA. NUJOMA SAID THIS WOULD NOT PRECLUDE  
SECRETARY GENERAL FROM NAMING SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE  
BUT HIS TERMS OF REFERENCE MUST BE IN LINE WITH  
RESOLUTIONS AND NO APPOINTMENT SHOULD BE MADE UNTIL  
SATISFACTORY TERMS OF REFERENCE WERE AGREED.

3. KAUNDA REPORTEDLY SUGGESTED "COMPROMISE" BY WHICH  
SECRETARY GENERAL WOULD APPOINT CHIEF ADMINISTRATOR  
IN CONSULTATION WITH SAG, AND SAG WOULD ANNOUNCE  
APPOINTMENT.

4. ADDITIONAL POINTS MADE BY NUJOMA, ACCORDING  
WALDHEIM, WERE THAT SWAPO COULD ACCEPT COMMISSIONER  
FOR NAMIBIA AS SECRETARY GENERAL'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE  
AND THAT SWAPO WANTED EARLY UNGA SPECIAL SESSION TO

"RE-DEFINE" UN POSITION ON NAMIBIA. WALDHEIM SAID SPECIAL SESSION NOT FEASIBLE BECAUSE OF CROWDED UN SCHEDULE. HE BELIEVED SWAPO RECOGNIZED PROBLEMS AND WAS NOT LIKELY TO PRESS FOR SESSION IN "IMMEDIATE FUTURE."

5. IN ANSWER TO AMBASSADOR MCHENRY'S QUESTION WHETHER SWAPO REALLY WANTED POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, WALDHEIM SAID IT WANTED SETTLEMENT BUT HAD RESERVATIONS ABOUT INITIATIVE OF FIVE. SWAPO FEARED APPROACH TAKEN BY FIVE MIGHT RESULT IN ITS BEING FROZEN OUT OF NAMIBIAN POLITICAL PROCESS AND IN INSTALLATION TURNHALLE ELEMENTS IN POWER. SWAPO WANTS FULL OPPORTUNITY TO DEVELOP ITS POLITICAL PRESENCE IN NAMIBIA, AND DOUBTS CONFIDENTIAL

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THAT IT WILL HAVE SUCH AN OPPORTUNITY WHILE SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS STILL THERE. HENCE, ITS DEMANDS FOR SOUTH AFRICAN TROOP WITHDRAWAL AND LARGE UN ADMINISTRATIVE ROLE.

6. MCHENRY REMAINED WALDHEIM THAT SWAPO HAD NOT YET RESPONDED TO INVITATION OF FIVE TO CONSULT. UNTIL IT DID SO, AND SWAPO CLARIFIED ITS POSITION, SAG WAS UNLIKELY MAKE FURTHER CONCESSIONS TO FIVE. IN PARTICULAR, SOUTH AFRICAN TROOP WITHDRAWALS MIGHT DEPEND UPON ASSURANCES THAT SWAPO ACCEPTED PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO NAMIBIAN PROBLEM. FIVE ALSO NEEDED MORE SPECIFICITY ABOUT POTENTIAL UN ROLE; HE NOTED TENDENCY TO UNDERESTIMATE WHAT UN COULD TO IN SITUATION.

7. CANADIAN MINISTER-COUNSELLOR PAUL LAPONTE STRESSED THAT FIVE NEEDED SECRETARY GENERAL'S HELP DEVELOPING POSSIBLE UN ROLE IN ORDER FACILITATE NEGOTIATING PROCESS, ELICITING STATEMENT BY WALDHEIM THAT HE WAS IN NO POSITION TAKE ANY RESPONSIBILITY FOR INITIATIVE OF FIVE UNTIL "BASIC DIFFERENCES" BETWEEN SAG AND SWAPO HAD BEEN OVERCOME AND ALL PARTIES HAD COME TO AGREEMENT. MOREOVER, HE POINTED OUT THAT INITIATIVE OF FIVE, WHICH HE APPRECIATED, WAS UNDERTAKEN ENTIRELY ON THEIR OWN AND HAD NO SECURITY COUNCIL BACKING. HE COULD NOT PRODUCE BLUEPRINT FOR UN ROLE IN NAMIBIA IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES. IT IS UP TO FIVE TO DESIGN POTENTIAL UN ROLE AND TO COMPLETE NEGOTIATING PROCESS WITH SWAPO AND AFRICANS. SECRETARY GENERAL CAN ACT IN SUCH CASES ONLY WHEN HE HAS EXPLICIT MANDATE FROM SECURITY COUNCIL. IN VIEW OF JURIDICAL POSITION LAID OUT IN EXISTING RESOLUTIONS, ANY INTERVENTION BY SECRETARY GENERAL AT THIS STAGE MIGHT EVEN BE DETRIMENTAL CONFIDENTIAL

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TO WORK OF FIVE.

8. HOWEVER, WALDHEIM SAID ALL MEMBER STATES HAD RIGHT TO CALL ON SECRETARIAT FOR "INFORMATION," AND HE INVITED FIVE TO CALL UPON COMMISSIONER FOR NAMIBIA AND MEMBERS OF SECRETARIAT FOR ANY INFORMATION THEY NEEDED TO DESIGN UN ROLE IN NAMIBIA, FOR EXAMPLE. HE SAID HE WOULD "INSTRUCT" COMMISSIONER TO COOPERATE WITH FIVE AND CALL HIM BACK FROM HIS HOLIDAY IN FINLAND IF FIVE SO DESIRED.

9. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH SECRETARY GENERAL MADE CLEAR THAT HE WILL NOT ACTIVELY ASSIST FIVE AT THIS STAGE, MEETING WAS NOT ENTIRELY NEGATIVE. IT CLARIFIED TASKS FIVE MUST ADDRESS TO MAINTAIN POLITICAL MOMENTUM AND, ASSUMING SECRETARY GENERAL'S INSTRUCTIONS ARE FORTH-COMING, AS WE EXPECT THEY WILL BE, IT WILL GIVE COMMISSIONER FOR NAMIBIA THE AUTHORITY HE WANTS AND HAS HITHERTO LACKED TO WORK WITH FIVE FOR POLITICAL SETTLEMENT.

10. CHEF DE CABINET LATER CALLED MCHENRY TO STRESS THAT SECRETARY GENERAL WAS PREPARED RECALL AHTISAARI AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY GENERAL FOR SPECIAL POLITICAL QUESTIONS FARAH FROM THEIR HOLIDAYS IN ORDER FACILITATE FIVE. SINCE SECRETARY GENERAL WAS LEAVING JULY 22 FOR OVERSEAS TRIP AND HE DID NOT WANT TO DELAY FIVE IN THEIR SEARCH FOR "INFORMATION", HE WANTED DO WHAT HE COULD BEFORE DEPARTURE. QUESTION WAS NOT WHETHER BUT WHEN AHTISAARI AND FARAH WOULD BE RECALLED. MCHENRY REPLIED THAT NEXT WEEK WAS SUITABLE.  
LEONARD

UNQUOTE VANCE

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## Message Attributes

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